

PEACE NEWS

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Trust Those Who Are Disinterested:

DEMAND NEUTRAL MEDIATION!

Where Pacifism and Patriotism Coincide

By J. MIDDLETON MURRY

THE closer engagement between Britain and France in the matter of war-aims and peace-aims does not materially alter the situation. It may have strengthened the rather precarious position of M. Reynaud as Prime Minister of France; but it has not diminished the chance or the necessity of peace. In these days of loud-speaker propaganda the sense of nuance may be obsolete; but certainly the political journalist of twenty years ago would have been deeply interested in the language of *The Times* commentary.

"Two distinct phases of co-operation are laid down," it reads. "In the first there is only one object—the winning of the war. That is an affair for the two Allies only: they will fight on until the conditions of their security are achieved (this for them may be taken as the definition of victory), and they will enter into no discussion of peace-terms, either with neutrals or the enemy, until they have first taken counsel together. When their joint forces have won for them this security and the guarantee that it will endure—that is to say after a victorious peace has been made—then they will proceed together to the second task with which they have charged themselves. That task is the organization of a new international order, capable of preserving law, liberty and peace for all nations."

What Does It Mean?

What does all that mean? Not very much. What it does not say is more illuminating than what it does say. And it sedulously avoids talking of peace after "military victory." It talks of "victorious peace" instead, which is a very different thing, and calls to mind that peace hath her victories no less than war. Moreover, on the positive side, victory is defined as the achievement of "the conditions of their security" by the Allies. In this sense the most zealous pacifists can desire their victory.

What *The Times* commentary breathes is the spirit of the French slogan: *Il faut en finir*—"We must have done with it"—it being the condition of nervous tension, of incessant apprehension, of perpetual interruption of men's peaceful avocations, in which the people of France have lived during the last four or five years. And here again no pacifist will fail to sympathize deeply with that longing for security. Truly, we have lived through intolerable years.

But what, on a sober analysis, has made those years intolerable? The transition from an unstable condition of unjust and artificial peace to a condition which more corresponds to the realities of power.

Germany and Russia, after a period of eclipse, have emerged as the masters of continental Europe up to the old frontier of European civilization—the Rhine. That is a fact against which Britain and France will batter their heads in vain. It is hard to suppose that they intend to batter their heads against it for very long, except on the principle that the Gods intend to destroy them, and therefore first make them mad.

This new Europe our statesmen must accept. The notion of maintaining an independent Poland, by military power, against the combined will of Germany and Russia is a chimera that can haunt the minds only of men who refuse to think. Either a restored Poland, and a restored Bohemia, will live by the consent of Germany and Russia; or they cannot live at all. And from this it is apparent that the logical distinction made by the Anglo-French communiqué between winning the war, in the sense of achieving the conditions of their security, and the organization of a new international order, is merely a logical distinction. Any peace that gives security is bound to contain the substance of a new international order.

Real Restoration

For the hope of a just restoration of Poland and Bohemia must depend upon its being a disinterested restoration. The dream of once more restoring them to serve as a bastion against Russia or a thorn in the side of Germany has to be surrendered once for all. That means that the true care for those two nations must devolve on those

(Continued on back page)

They Will Still Get Through

A HIGH OFFICER of the RAF, quoted in the "News Chronicle" on Wednesday of last week:

"Defence at night against attacking aircraft is an extremely difficult problem to which neither side has a satisfactory answer," he emphasized.

For this reason the authorities want the public to understand now that if large-scale air war breaks out many raiding aircraft will penetrate far over Britain at night and will not be brought down.

WHY MUST OUR BOYS DIE?

Women's Appeal to Governments

"A NEW World Order?" Ah! yes, we need that, but when? "At the end of the war, you say, but that is after THEY are dead. "THEY" may be millions or may be hundreds, nevertheless it is always of the two or three that a woman thinks. Women, all over the world, are asking why, if plans for permanent peace are being laid, must there be this human sacrifice first. We women ask it here; the women of neutral nations ask it; and if the women of Germany are not asking themselves this question, I do not know my sex.

These are the women who are not seen at meetings, the non-political women, housewives, teachers, nurses. This heart cry is widespread enough and fervent enough to stop war, but it needs to be made articulate. The Women's Peace Campaign is setting out to relay it to the ears of the Governments by a "nation-wide-link-up," as they say in America.

Nation-Wide Campaign

Hundreds of volunteers (men and women) have undertaken to seek these women in their cottages, shops, offices and factories, and each heart-cry will be set upon a paper bearing the words:

WE WOMEN ADDRESS THIS APPEAL TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE

NATIONS TO STOP THE WAR AND MEET TOGETHER TO DISCUSS PEACE.

The number of signatories to this appeal can be built up to an impressive and overwhelming figure by long and steady work but we dare not delay to plod through the routine of an unofficial plebiscite. The shadow of death over "THEM" drives us. We must all go out together and all go now and we must bring in the first hundred thousand signatures in the next few days.

PRESENT THAT PEN EVERYWHERE!

We must go to every tea party, sewing party, meeting, Church service or Guild and ask to be allowed to explain the appeal and invite signatures. We must take an appeal sheet to our business, our club and when we go shopping, and never fail to put our request to all whom we meet. While by word of mouth you can put your request to ten, a poster will ask a hundred to sign.

PROCESSION AND PRESENTATION

When we reach the hundred thousand the collection will still go on until an Armistice stops us, but we plan to organize a march and will take the first instalment to the Prime Minister at the House of Commons on arrival. A few will be told off to explain our mission to a meeting of members of Parliament in one of the Committee rooms arranged by the Pacifist Group of Members and all the rest will put the case to as many MPs as possible in the Lobbies.

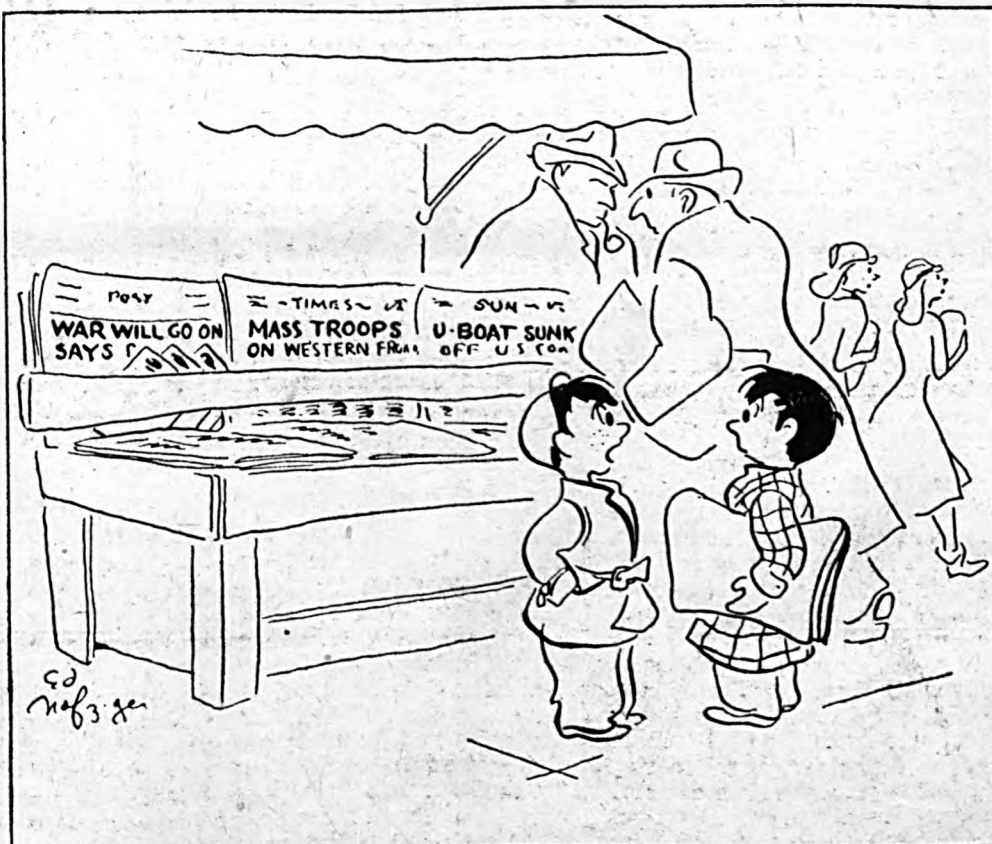
The eddies of this simple effort will be wide, spreading from the large inner waves of questions to Ministers to the fine wide outer circles of discussion at factory gates and village pumps.

The New World Order cannot be built by the Allies alone. The neutral nations, whose fate is chained to ours, must lend their aid in its design. We shall bring this appeal not only before the British Parliament but before Queen Wilhelmina, President Roosevelt and the leaders of other neutral nations.

Challenge to Government

Women say to the Governments: "It is our job to rear men and women; yours to organize the social and economic life of the world. There must be a way for the peoples to live at peace on a basis of sharing. That way must be found and it must be found without the demand for a blood sacrifice first. Cease hostilities! Put your wits to work! However long it takes and whatever it costs, seek a solution rationally and not by gambling in the lives of our sons."

Dorothy Evans



"What're you gonna be—if you grow up?"

Saturday Evening Post (U.S.A.)

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STOP PRESS

A Pacifist Commentary . . . edited by "Observer"

SINCE the war began we have paid particular attention to the attacks on pacifists that have appeared in the popular press. We have all along been wondering whether the discreditable stuff that was poured out last time would be repeated. It now seems likely that nothing that was putrid then will fail to be repeated, perhaps in new guise, this time.

Take last week's *Sunday Graphic* and *News Review*.

The *Graphic* gave prominence to an article by its star commentator, Beverley Baxter, MP, entitled "The Scandal of the Shirks." This was little more than an elaboration of a former Press attack on the Peace Pledge Union entitled "A Conscience for Two Pence"—its inspiration being the valuable pamphlet, *The CO and the Tribunal*, issued by the Central Board for the assistance of conscientious objectors.

Mr. Baxter calls for a re-examination of objectors who have already appeared before tribunals (he apparently has the greatest contempt for these bodies, by the way) "to make sure that the tribunals have not diagnosed a weak liver as an enlarged conscience."

There is nothing in Mr. Baxter's article which calls for elaborate answer. He has misread the pamphlet, misunderstood the purpose of trial tribunals, and is nowhere near understanding the true character of "conscientious objection."

The *News Review*, a few weeks ago, featured Stuart Morris, the General Secretary of the PPU, on the front page, and inside devoted space, which one must assume to be valuable, to dubious records of various individuals who have been sufficiently independent to refuse support to the war. Such a feature naturally provoked some controversy. A selection of letters appeared last week, under the heading, "Should Pacifist Groups Be Banned?" Of 15 contributions, only five stated the pacifist case!

Well, let us expect it! Indeed, let us welcome it! It shows that we are worth paying attention to, however distasteful that attention may be.

There are two ways of looking at it. Either the vast mass of folk believe this sort of propaganda, or they don't.

If they do: it only emphasizes the task that is before us, the need for a new evangelism, its object being the restatement of old truths, which, we believe, have not been adequately propagated since the days of the old ILP.

If they don't: then they will rally to us if we only have the courage to give a lead.

Churchill on Aggression

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL maintained his reputation for bellicose broadcast speeches on Saturday evening. But he also managed to let the cat out of the bag about one of our alleged war aims.

We are often told that Britain's purpose is to end aggression. Yet Mr. Churchill went so far as to say: "We have no quarrel with the Italian or Japanese peoples. We have tried, and we shall try, our best to live on good terms with them." He also made it clear that Britain is not anxious (not at present, anyway) to go to war with Russia. Yet Italy, Japan, and Russia, are aggressor Powers which have been formally denounced by the League of Nations! (Germany, incidentally, has not.) So much for the disinterested fight against aggression as such.

I do not suggest that we should take up arms against all aggressors, past and present. Not only would that include Britain itself, but it would be no more a remedy than the present war against Germany. A good illustration of that fact is obtainable from Mr. Churchill's own words during the last war.

A correspondent sends me an account of an American press representative's interview with him as it appeared in Part 19 of *The Great War* (edited by H. W. Wilson) published on December 26, 1914.

In that interview Mr. Churchill said that the war was started and was being maintained by the Prussian military aristocracy, which set no limits to its ambition of world-wide predominance. In a word, it was the old struggle of a hundred years ago against Napoleon. The grouping of forces was different; the circumstances were different; the occasion was different; the man, above all, was different—happily. But the issue was the same. Great Britain stood right in the path of Prussian militarism.

Again we are trying to settle that issue by war. How many times must we repeat history in this futile fashion before we learn that aggression will be soonest ended by removing its causes?

Other passages in the same interview are very similar to Mr. Churchill's phrases today. I quote from the report again:

In answer to a question as to whether the end of the war would see some abatement in the struggle of armaments, Mr. Churchill replied: "That depends on the result. If we succeed, and if, as the result of our victory, Europe is re-arranged, as far as possible with regard to the principle of nationality and in accordance with the wishes of the peoples who dwell in the various disputed areas, we may look forward with hope to a great relaxation and easement . . ."

"It is our system of civilization and government against theirs. It is our life or theirs. We are conscious of the greatness of the times. We recognize the consequence and proportion of events. We feel that, however inadequate we may be, however unexpected the ordeal may be, we are under the eye of history, and, the issue being joined, Great Britain must go forward to the very end."

S. H. G. HEAD.

Press Attacks on Pacifists Churchill in 1914 and 1940 What Australians Think Propaganda from Last Time

THE sweeping victory secured by the Canadian Liberal Government in the general election held last week has been attributed to Mr. MacKenzie King's shrewdness in timing the contest for the right moment from his own point of view. It has been hailed as an enthusiastic vote for a vigorous prosecution of the war.

It is interesting to compare this with the result of the recent by-election in Corio, in Australia. In this connexion Mrs. Vera Barnes writes:

"The result of the election in Corio, in which a supposedly 'safe' Conservative constituency went sensationally over to Labour, is a very positive indication of Australia's feeling about the war."

"Prime Minister Menzies had made it clear that he considered a vote for Labour would be a vote for Hitler: The Corio electorate, however, who, like the rest of Australia, are strongly anti-Nazi, are also strongly opposed to conscription."

"Although this election was not fought on the issue of conscription, and although certain industrial considerations must be taken into account, I am assured by the London representative of an influential Australian newspaper that it was the fear of possible conscription for overseas service that very largely influenced the result at Corio."

"Although the Labour majority was well over 3,000, the anti-conscription vote was split between the Labour candidate, and a Communist 'Stop the War' candidate who polled 1,466, against Labour's 26,112."

"It seems clear, therefore, that Australia's attitude to conscription has not changed since the last war, when, it will be remembered, two referenda were turned down categorically, and in the last resort the Government decided to give the 500,000 Australian soldiers then serving in Europe and in the East the vote, in the hope of turning the scales. On that occasion the Government refused to disclose the soldiers' vote and finally had to admit that the Australian

soldiers then serving overseas had themselves voted strongly against conscription."

The Dose—As Before

CHARLES HATTON writes:—

"A film is now being shown called *The Beast of Berlin*, and great play is being made of its mysterious origin. Surely, thousands of filmgoers will recall this film from the last war, when the silent version enjoyed considerable success."

"It made great play of the brutality of the Kaiser, and a feature of the German atrocities in Belgium. Now some producer has resurrected the scenario, substituted Hitler for the Kaiser and Poland for Belgium, and is endeavouring to 'cash in' on the simple-minded film fans, at the same time stirring in them a measure of hatred which will reconcile them to prosecuting this war more actively. An opportune time has been chosen to release the film—the same applies to the French war newsreels."

Peace By Negotiation

A FORMER Government Whip, Colonel Sir A. Lambert Ward, Conservative MP for North-West Hull, was reported last week to have told Hull Rotary Club that the only hope he could see at present of "a peace approaching permanency is that it should be negotiated rather than dictated."

It is true that in suggesting, further, that the peace should be guaranteed by the United States and other powerful nations "he probably envisaged some sort of military 'security,' but that need not prevent our welcoming so refreshing a plea for peace by negotiation. That must come first, and then the means of securing the peace."

Encouragement should be given to the expression of such an opinion—which, indeed, is more commonly held than is generally imagined. If pacifists can help in that direction, their influence may ensure such a peace as will be secured by its own inherent justice.

THEREFORE . . . COMMONSENSE ABOUT THE WAR

By WILFRED WELLOCK

IN recent days there have been a few outbursts against the advocacy of a negotiated peace. They were part of the campaign for a more vigorous prosecution of the war which certain political groups here and in France have been pursuing since the ending of hostilities in Finland.

In what precise manner the prosecution of the war should be intensified is not made clear, but already it has resulted in the fall of the Daladier Government and in a demand for major changes in the Chamberlain Government.

Other effects include a concentration of British naval force around the coasts of the Scandinavian countries, promise of a more rigorous control over the imports of neutral countries, and new endeavours to prevent supplies reaching Germany via the countries in Central and South-Eastern Europe.

Three Fronts

It is all very well to talk about a victory, but in fact very few people stop to ask what they mean by victory, or whether victory over Germany will also be a victory over Hitlerism.

Victory may be sought on one or all of three fronts: military, economic, psychological. But what may it be expected to achieve?

MILITARY. A military victory must finally depend upon breaking the Siegfried Line. Every competent military authority agrees that the Siegfried and Maginot Lines are impregnable or can only be broken at a cost that is too terrible to contemplate. Hence the present stalemate.

On this issue we pacifists say that the price of victory would be a condition of moral and spiritual degradation in the victorious countries which would destroy all hope of any future worth contemplating. The first stages of such demoralization are already manifest.

ECONOMIC. A cool examination of the facts: Our ignorance of Germany's food

and economic resources, of the supplies she is receiving and will continue to receive from the vast European hinterland stretching to the Black Sea and through Russia to the Pacific ocean, from Italy, whose ships ply the Mediterranean and all the Southern seas, and from Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Denmark and the Scandinavian countries, warrant the conclusion that an economic victory will necessitate a very long war, and will be so costly to all the belligerents that it will embitter them by its privations, bring upon them financial and economic collapse, and cause to be enacted an even worse Peace Treaty than that of Versailles.

PSYCHOLOGICAL. Ever since the war began Allied politicians have postulated the revolt of the German people against Hitler and the other Nazi leaders. What they always forget, however, is that as the war proceeds new pronouncements and demands are made which prevent the very thing they desire and even drive the German people more completely into the arms of Hitler. I believe the German people desire and will eventually achieve deliverance from Hitler; but they will postpone that struggle so long as they believe that the aim of the Allies is to thrust Germany back into the economic thralldom of 1919-33, to hold her down by military might, and possibly even to dismember her.

The Real Victory

The real victory we want—victory over Hitlerism—can only be won on the psychological front and then only by the pacifist method of removing its causes, monopolistic imperialism and the entire system of human exploitation of which it is the outcome. Human exploitation and the imperialism which springs from it are more rampant today than ever, while the economic breakdown which is destined to follow in the wake of this war will lead to an intensification of the very evils which produced Hitler, and thus to a wide extension of Hitlerism.

What Hopes of Peace?

WHAT are the chances of peace now?

Despite the practical impossibility of achieving it by victory (as Wilfred Wellock shows on this page), this week has seen threats of more vigorous war measures. The Russo-Finnish settlement, which represented a diplomatic setback for the Allies, caused a pugnacious reaction in the latter countries which is still making itself felt.

The growth of warlike propaganda is another factor militating against the chances of peace. A study of the press of this country and of a number of neutral countries shows that the former is more given to deliberate exaggeration, partiality, and even illwill than people realize who see only their own papers. Nor is the neutral journalist the victim of fear of Germany that British spokesmen represent his government to be. Commentators in the western European neutral countries are still quite outspokenly anti-Nazi.

There is always, too, the psychological difficulty in the way of peace—the problem of trust, as well as of mere face-saving.

On the other hand, it remains true that peace by victory is recognized by many responsible people as an impossibility. It is even asserted in some quarters that the Allied blockade is likely to prove less rather than more successful as time goes on.

Germany's ruthlessness in Poland, moreover, is daily making the restoration of liberty to even a part of that unhappy country more impracticable, even if the Allies win the war. A struggle is going on behind the scenes for the mastery of the Balkan pawns, and if the Allies cannot check German influence, the impossibility of making headway there might act as another influence for the ending of the war.

But one of the most hopeful chances of peace surely lies in Germany's apparently studied anxiety to avoid a serious development of the war—an anxiety which, however, she might feel compelled to throw to the winds if the Allied threat to intensify the blockade should prove successful. Sooner or later the armed forces themselves will tend to get tired of sitting down opposite each other doing nothing.

That is the impasse which all those who support the war must face soon or late. It is the impasse which will ultimately break and destroy the Labour Party. It is the impasse which if not prevented will enthroned totalitarianism throughout Europe. The only way to prevent it is by applying the principles of that fundamental pacifism which the PPU is seeking to proclaim.

Therefore it is in the creative peace born of a new social conception, socialism with a social as well as a material content, that Hitlerism will be destroyed. Until that peace is made THE WAR will proceed in one form or another. The old order is perishing: Hitler is just one of its evil effects, a symptom of its rottenness, the writing on the wall.

—OUT AGAIN!

EMPIRE a Monthly Record

still continues to
present the facts
of Empire

You need to be kept fully informed about colonial questions, and we can supply you with regular information at the low cost of 3s. 6d. per annum; or send for a free specimen copy to: Editor, Empire, 4, Harley Road, London, N.W.3.

Advice To Those Who Register Tomorrow

MEN born between January 21, 1914, and April 6, 1920 (inclusive), have to register on April 6 (tomorrow).

Here are some hints for them on the procedure:

You may register at any labour exchange. If you are ill you may send a written application for registration to any labour exchange.

You are required to register whether or not you are in a reserved occupation.

If you fail to register you become liable to a fine not exceeding £5.

If the authorities have reason to think that you may be a conscientious objector they have power to register you provisionally in the Register of Conscientious Objectors.

You should take your Identity Card and Unemployment Book (if any) to the nearest Labour Exchange. If you wish to register as a conscientious objector state this before you answer questions or sign forms. Your particulars may then be taken by a different official or in a different room. You may be required to furnish the following particulars: name and home address; date and place of birth; whether married or single; full names of father and mother including mother's maiden surname; number of employment book; present (or, if unemployed, last) employment; particulars of usual occupation. These particulars will be taken down by an official and will be signed by you.

The applicant will be handed two forms:

1. N.S. 61.—A postcard "Certificate of Provisional Registration in the Register of CO's. On this card the holder's name, address and date of birth will be filled in and there is a space for the holder's signature. This certificate must be kept carefully. If you change your home address or change your name there is a space on the back of the certificate for the new particulars. You must fill this in and post the form back. Failure to do so renders you liable to a fine up to £5.

The other form that will be received is

2. N.S. 14.—This is a foolscap form of application to the local tribunal. This must be completed and posted to the address given on it to be received there by the date indicated, which will be 14 days after registration. (A certificate of posting can be obtained at the post office for 1d.)

This form (N.S. 14) has a space for "Any statement you wish to submit in support of your application." At the foot of the form the three grounds of objection are stated: (a) To being registered in the Military Service Register. (b) To undergoing Military Service. (c) To performing combatant duties.

All three should ordinarily be left unless you are willing to do non-combatant military service, in which case (a) and (b) should be struck out leaving only (c) standing.

If the authorities decide that you are in a reserved occupation they will send you a circular saying that as long as you are so reserved you will not be called before a local tribunal unless you desire. If you do not desire to go before a tribunal until you are obliged, it is as well to reply saying that you are willing to appear whenever the authorities wish. This will prevent the tribunal from suggesting later that you were unwilling to appear.

If you fail to apply to be registered on the Register of Conscientious Objectors and sub-

sequently desire to do so the Act gives you the right to ask to be registered as a CO within two days after the date of medical examination.

Informatory literature (published by the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1):

The CO and the Tribunal. A Critical Guide for Objectors to the National Service (Armed Forces) Act (revised, with an appendix on the Act). Price 3d.

A Commentary published as an Appendix to the above is published separately at 1d.

The COs Hansard. Relevant extracts from the debates in the Houses of Parliament. No. 1 covering the Military Training Act, 1939, price 6d.; No. 2 September, 1939, to January, 1940, price 3d. (Subsequent issues published approximately monthly price 3d.).

The Appellate Tribunal. A report on the December sittings with notes of selected cases price 6d.

LEAFLETS

"To Those Who are Registering as COs," price 1d.

"To COs Placed on the Military Service Register," price 1d.

"To COs Wishing to Appeal," price 1d.

ARRESTED AS DESERTER

LEONARD COOK, a Hull member of the Peace Pledge Union, who was put on the Military Service Register for non-combatant duties by the tribunal sitting at Leeds, and whose appeal was dismissed on December 22, was arrested on Easter Monday as a deserter. He had been medically examined but had refused his calling-up papers.

When he appeared before a magistrate he was handed over to the military authorities and eventually taken under military escort to Norwich, where he agreed to perform his military duties.

Judge's Impatience at Bristol

CONCERN at the attitude taken lately by Judge Wethered, chairman of the South-Western Tribunal for conscientious objectors, is reported by our observer at Bristol.

The chairman has, to say the least, been very impatient, and our observer reports that his colleagues have been holding the balance.

In some recent decisions of an unconditional character the chairman was in a minority. He admitted the fact.

On Wednesday of last week, of fourteen cases down for hearing in the morning, nine only were dealt with, so much time was taken up with each case. Of these nine, decisions in four cases were postponed until the afternoon.

One applicant, known to our observer, whose hearing was down for 11 a.m., reached the table at 12.55 p.m., and left it at 1.20. He went through an exhausting experience, but finally received unconditional exemption. On leaving the Senate Room he broke down.

Constructive Work in Wartime

As a piece of constructive service during wartime the International Voluntary Service for Peace has undertaken the planting of trees to replace timber now being felled. A tree-planting service has been started in conjunction with the Forestry Commission, near Hawkshead in the Lake District.

It is hoped to work as far as possible on the usual IVSP lines, with men from different countries, though it is realized that this will not be possible to anything like the same extent as in peace-time. Unlike other services, the volunteers will be paid by the Forestry Commission at the usual rates for that type of work, but after retaining an agreed amount of pocket-money they will hand the rest to the IVSP for running expenses and for the payment, where necessary, of dependents' allowances for long-term volunteers.

(For twenty years the IVSP has been working with volunteers from different countries building villages, making roads, clearing pastures, feeding the starving and helping the distressed in this country and abroad. Its headquarters are at 1 Lyddon Terrace, Leeds, 2.)

A Chinese Puzzle

Two Chinese workmen were having an argument in the street. They became very excited. Their noise and gesticulations attracted a large crowd of onlookers.

Amongst the crowd was an Englishman who waited in anticipation for the fight which he thought was sure to result.

After the argument had gone on at fever pitch for a long time the Englishman's curiosity was aroused and he asked a Chinese man near him why the two men did not come to blows.

"Because," he was answered, "the first man who strikes a blow shows that he hasn't got any more ideas."

Tribunal for Reading

A NEW COs Tribunal will hold its first sitting in Reading today (Friday).

It will sit in the Board Room, 32 Thorn Street, Reading, at 11.30 a.m.

The Tribunal (says the official announcement) is appointed to consider applications for inclusion in the Register of Conscientious Objectors from the area comprising the counties of Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Hampshire, Oxfordshire, Sussex and part of Surrey.

The chairman of the Tribunal will be Judge Maurice N. Drucquer.

Strike in Support of Objector

WHAT appears to be the first strike in support of a conscientious objector has taken place in Manchester.

Workers at the Miles Plating Chair Company struck work on Wednesday morning last week because a CO had been dismissed. A resolution passed by the Manchester No. 2 branch of the Amalgamated Upholsterers' Union declared:

"We consider that the dismissal of one of the members on the grounds that he is a conscientious objector is nothing but a further attempt of the company to prevent trade union organization in their factory. We instruct our officials to demand the reinstatement of our member, and we ask that our National Executive and the Manchester and Salford Trades Council be informed of this development, so that the whole of our membership and the trade union movement generally can be warned against the development of this new kind of action as a means of smashing trade union organization."

Several strikes have already taken place elsewhere as protests against the continued employment of exempted COs.

Conference for London C.O.s

The Central Board for Conscientious Objectors has called a conference for the areas covered by the London and South-Eastern Tribunals to meet at Friends House, London, on Sunday, May 19. Each Advisory Bureau in these areas is asked to appoint not more than four representatives and each local branch of constituent bodies not more than two representatives. It is hoped that representatives will include men immediately affected by the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939. A delegate fee of 1s. each is asked for each delegate appointed.

Names of delegates, stating whether hospitality is required, should be sent to 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, not later than Monday, April 22.

Labour Members to Discuss Peace Now

The Peace Aims Group of the Parliamentary Labour Party, which consists of some twenty-five MPs, are organizing a meeting during the Labour Party Conference at Bournemouth at Whitsun to consider the best means of securing a "stable, just and enduring peace by negotiation now."

The meeting will be strictly reserved for members of the Labour Party and is planned to take place on Whit Monday at 6 p.m. Invitations will be sent to all local Labour Parties.

MIDDLETON MURRY'S BROADCASTS

ONE of the outstanding features of the BBC's talks programme last winter was the series of six on "Europe in Tra-vaill," given by John Middleton Murry. It was unworthy that such original and provocative talks should be allowed to dissipate into the wider atmosphere, or gather dust in past issues of *The Listener*. Pacifists, and all who listened to them with interest and profit, will therefore welcome their publication in book form, in the Christian News-Letter series.*

Mr. Murry has added a chapter on "Democracy and Community," in which he says:

"... the true hope of new life for the national society seems to me to lie not in centralization, but in decentralization; not in large-scale collectivism, but in local co-operation and community... Democracy, in so far as it is a good thing, means self-government by responsible members of a community who are continuously sensitive to the needs of the community as a whole. Such a condition is only possible where the community is small; and the only valuable way of conceiving a large-scale democracy is to conceive it as a federation of regional democracies which are themselves in turn federations of communal and local democracies."

"We need to see our brothers in order to love them," he concludes, "and in order to love God whom we have not seen."

Every pacifist who obtains this summing-up of the world problem by one of the acutest intelligences of our age will find in it the finest shillingsworth he has come across for a very long time.

* *Europe in Travail* John Middleton Murry. Sheldon Press. 1s. Obtainable from PPU, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

HOW MANY NEW READERS HAVE YOU GOT THIS YEAR?

Books

INDIA'S PARAMOUNT POWER

Mahatma Gandhi—Essays and Reflections on his Life and Work. Edited by S. Radhakrishnan. Allen & Unwin, 7s. 6d.

EDITED by the most famous of living Indian philosophers, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, who holds the Chair of Ethics and Eastern Religions at Oxford, with the help of Stephen Hobhouse, who performed the invaluable service of putting the finishing touches and seeing the book through the press when Sir Radhakrishnan had to leave for India, we have here a book that should be in the possession of all who work for peace. It consists of about sixty contributions from men and women all over the world. Some of the writers claim life-long friendship with Mahatma Gandhi; others have never met him.

The publication of this volume—intended to mark the Mahatma's 70th birthday—was not thought of before January, 1939. Thus the contributors wrote under the shadow of Munich and Prague, with the cloud of the present war on the horizon. Naturally, therefore, non-violence, its principle and practice, is the dominant theme of the book.

The application of this baffling, untried method to a war-scarred world is criticized frankly by certain of the writers: "We cannot recommend the practice of Gandhi's doctrine, however much we may respect it," says Romain Rolland. Yet he ends by offering homage to "our ideal of humanity to come." Others writers are intrigued. General Smuts, who freely admits that the Mahatma's activities in South Africa "were very trying to me," adds that "it may be of interest to give closer attention to this novel technique." Another writer sees this doctrine as something for the future. "No doubt the method he advocates is in advance of the times... he represents, therefore, a new thrust forward on the part of life." Pearl Buck says that the name of Gandhi has passed beyond "the meaning of an individual to the meaning of a way of living in our troubled modern world."

Running like a thread throughout the book is the relation of this doctrine to present international affairs. Sir Radhakrishnan, a widely-travelled man, says: "I have noted that Gandhi's reputation is more universal than that of the greatest statesmen and leaders of nations, and his personality more beloved and esteemed than any or all of them." And Gerald Heard remarks: "there was needed a man as ingenious as the inventors of the diabolical instruments of destruction and as dynamic as the daimonic leaders who were stampeding their peoples into mutual massacre. There can be little doubt that this

man will be recognized by historians as M. K. Gandhi."

The following sentence sums up—to my mind—the underlying thought of many of the contributors:

"... I have found myself much wondering of late, whether even now, at an age when he is entitled to lay down his armour... Mahatma Gandhi may not have one closing task crowning his whole life's work, yet to perform—to take leadership here in the West, of those united millions in all the nations of Europe, who long for a righteous and lasting settlement and peace won without strife or hatred and show us what we must do and what we must suffer that such peace may be achieved."

Agatha Harrison

War Guides

Handbook of the War. American Experts. Constable. 10s.

Atlas-History of the Second Great War. J. F. Horrabin. Nelson. Vol. 1. 3s. 6d.

An Atlas of the War. Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs—No. 22. 3d.

HOWEVER vague the politicians deliberately are, however diligent the censor attempts to be, the public, if it really so desires, can know all there is worth knowing about the origins, the motives and the course of the present war; for ever since September the printing presses have been churning out contributions to understanding by experts on strategy, economists, historians, statisticians, and map-makers. It is possible to possess quite a substantial reference library on the war consisting only of post-war publications and a well-selected cuttings-file. These three books are the pick of the latest possible additions to such a store.

The first is the collective achievement of members of two groups of American ex-

(Continued on back page.)

COs in Australia

A number of prominent Victorian citizens signed a statement which outlines the present position of CO's and specifies desirable changes. The statement was given good publicity in Melbourne newspapers. It pointed out that the present position as regards Australia is that exemptions are only granted to objectors willing to undertake non-combatant military work. Those refusing non-combatant as well as combatant military duties are liable to a heavy fine and/or imprisonment. No provision is made (a) for those willing to undertake humanitarian work on the battlefield under non-military control, (b) for those willing to perform civil work under such control, or (c) for those objecting to all such duties on the ground that they set others free for military service or that they diminish the force of pacifist witness.

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Which Is The REAL Defeatism?

THE term "defeatism" is generally applied to those who, when their country goes to war, throw doubt on the war achieving the victory at which it aims, or put forward objections on moral grounds to its origin and continued prosecution.

It is a definite characteristic of war psychology that when a nation embarks upon war, it professes not only determination to win, but conviction that it is going to win; and this profession of absolute confidence starts with the government which has been responsible for bringing the country into war.

However little it expresses the government's true conviction, could it do otherwise? Would it be possible for a government whose diplomacy has landed it in a declaration of war, to allowed any statement to go forth that the result of the war was doubtful—that it might lead to stalemate or even to defeat? Even if such a statement were much nearer to the truth, no government making such a statement could hope to survive; its responsibility would be too clearly upon its head, and it would go down in execration, to be replaced either by a government which was capable of inspiring greater confidence in the nation of a favourable result, or one which was prepared to conclude peace as the best way out of a bad business. If the war had strong popular opinion behind it, a government bent on prosecuting it would be the result. If the war were definitely unpopular, a peace government would be the outcome.

Can it be denied, then, that a government whose policy has brought the country into war, is bound to profess confidence in victory, and that its professions may mean very little except temporary face-saving from an instinct of self-preservation?

THERE is a further characteristic of war psychology, that, even if the government's policy leading up to war has been strongly criticized and even opposed by a large section of public opinion, there is always an excited swing-over of opposition opinion which (while still criticizing the policy which led up to the war) accepts the war when it is declared, and supports its prosecution with the same determination and conviction of victory as those who approve the policy which produced it.

There is therefore nothing unusual in the spectacle of a country (in which the government's pre-war policy was denounced by a united opposition, and criticized as having placed the country in most unfavourable conditions for the successful prosecution of the war) accepting all the dangers and drawbacks produced by a blundering diplomacy, once war is declared, and proclaiming its conviction that victory will follow.

It follows that if these are the usual and to-be-expected accompaniments of a nation's declaration of war, the accompanying professions of confidence may mean very little indeed. But the consequence of those professions of confidence may be wholly disastrous, and there cannot, indeed, be a worse form of defeatism than for a government and a country to continue in confident prognostications of victory which have no basis in fact, and when the only outcome of that continued profession of confidence is dogged persistence in useless slaughter and waste of material, leading in the end no nearer to a favourable result.

YET though such blind persistence in war is obviously, from the disastrous results to which it leads, the worst form of defeatism, it is never called or regarded as defeatism while it is doing its rampant and wanton work of devastation. It is always the moderating counsel, the unpopular counsel, which advises making terms of peace short of victory, which is denounced as defeatism.

The war mind, when it becomes rabid, actually prefers to go on lying to itself than to face up to unwelcome truth; and when nations, or two opposing groups of Powers, are at grips, this is quite likely to be the state of mind on both sides, and even if in the end that state of mind seems to be justified in the event, when victory for one side is actually secured, it may be a victory which does more harm to the victor than a negotiated peace would have done if it had come earlier.

We did not make such good use of our victory in the last war as to have any reason for confidence that victory in this, if we attain it, will produce any better results. Nor did we know, when pressing for the knock-out blow, how very near we came to the defeat which would have brought the knock-out blow from the other

side. The narrowness of escape from defeat is one of the concealments which governments are bound to practise in war, and they only become revealed afterwards, when the official war record is compiled. What almost came true in the last war may be (to say the least of it) no further from probability in this one; but it is regarded as defeatism to suggest it.

YET if we look back to a war in which what was called defeatism in this country was far more prominent than in the last war (I am referring to the Boer War), there was in that defeatism which was so denounced while the war was in progress, very real and striking value; for that attitude of "defeatism"—the declaration that the war was an unjust war and that its continued prosecution was by "methods of barbarism"—was very largely instrumental in securing a good and generous peace, a salient feature of which was compensation by the victor to the vanquished. It was the fact that Campbell-Bannerman stood courageously by his declaration against the morals and methods employed in that war of aggression, that brought about the peace of Vereeniging, and the subsequent concessions on lines of reparation and generosity to the defeated.

Let it be remembered how Sir Austen Chamberlain once honestly declared in the House of Commons that he had been opposed to those acts of generosity which were the outcome of Campbell-Bannerman's defeatism, but that in view of the good results which had accrued, he owned himself to have been wrong. With that example before our eyes of the good effects of a stand denounced as defeatism, may not a similar stand, similarly denounced, against blind belief in victory, be the truest form of patriotism today?

Before he threw over his policy of appeasement, Mr. Neville Chamberlain made a statement which need not be less true now than it was then—that in the next war there would be no victor—only ruin for both sides alike. Is it defeatism to suggest that he should revert to that impartial and well-grounded statement, and give more consideration than he seems to be doing now, to an international Peace Conference for the ending of what may well be a vain, useless continuation of destruction, not only of life and material, but of all hopes of anything that could be called a good peace?

asks

Laurence Housman

"The consequence of . . . professions of confidence may be wholly disastrous, and there cannot, indeed, be a worse form of defeatism than for a government and a country to continue in confident prognostications of victory which have no basis in fact, and when the only outcome of that continued profession of confidence is dogged persistence in useless slaughter and waste of material, leading in the end no nearer to a favourable result."



LORD PONSONBY'S MONTHLY COMMENTS

I RECEIVED last week my first abusive letter since the outbreak of war, not a very good one, needless to say, from a parson. It came among a number of very appreciative communications.

He said we pacifists were "indifferent to questions of right and wrong as between the Germans and their victims." In fact we must punish Germany for the Nazi treatment of Jews, Socialists, Poles, Czechs, &c.

We ought, I suppose, also to punish Russians for their treatment of the Finns, the Italians for their treatment of Abyssinians and Albanians, the Japanese for their treatment of the Chinese and . . . but I better be careful in adding to the list. That is the worst of so many reverend gentlemen; they are so bloodthirsty and so bent on punishment.

IN a letter from an old friend who wants to know what is going on behind the scenes (I'm afraid I can't tell him and on the whole I would rather not know) there is a telling phrase.

He says "The Orthodox Press of both countries is so constantly in all our recent memories, ill-advised, ill-judging, and ill-willing (on earth war to men of ill will)."

I think indeed that the Press is the most

formidable obstacle to a return to sanity. At the moment they are encouraged by the Government. But should by some miracle, the Government become inclined to show good will I am afraid they will find it an insuperable difficulty to change the tone of the newspapers.

I HAVE received the advertisement of a new book by the celebrated historian Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw. It is called *Germany the Aggressor throughout the Ages*. In 1914-18 he was a strong advocate of war, and if I remember right, he said war was a great stimulant to activity and endeavour and peace was only a stagnant pool producing rot and decay.

I quite agree with him. Where I differ from him is—what sort of war in order to prevent the creation of the peace of a stagnant pool. That peace specially after a military victory produces a stagnant pool I fully admit. It is one of the major problems we have to face. As it is the cessation of fighting leads to relaxation, withdrawal of restrictions, reaction towards dissipation and renewal of endeavour to make money and again to increase profits—in fact a joyful return to the old order which is one of the main causes of war.

War and His Henchmen



LINOCUT BY COL

NOW if peace meant a continuance of the corporate effort but for building, reconstruction, inventing and devising means for improved education and better social conditions, if it meant as much activity as war demands for laying the foundations of a new society, if labour were enlisted, indeed, even conscripted, for the clearance of every vestige of the disgraces in our national life of which we ought to be ashamed, and if the aid of the Press were enlisted, as in war-time, to show up and expose the hideous scandals, any reference to which is now suppressed—then peace would by no means be a stagnant pool.

But the trouble is that you cannot get this sort of peace as a result of the carnage of modern warfare. So we get back to the old question of whether it is beyond human power to devise a method of resolving international disputes by some other method than the imbecility of killing men in large numbers without achieving any profitable purpose.

IF Germany has been the aggressor throughout the ages she cannot be said to have gained much by war. Nor can other nations (who I suppose have always been defending themselves) have gained either.

Poor old humanity will go on travelling down the wrong road, not from wickedness, but from stupidity and want of imagination. No doubt we are each of us very far from perfect. But that is not what is wrong. If, instead of being told quite so often to devote our attention to self-improvement, people could be encouraged to think out problems of peace and concentrate their attention on improving on the efforts of the past which have failed in order to establish a new method of tackling international differences, however little we might accomplish in our lifetime, we should be working along the right road.

No doubt some are studying this point. But I venture to think that they are rather apt to start with a distant millennium and work backwards instead of concentrating on the next step and working forwards.

An Objector explains :

Why I Did Not Register

W. Aubrey J. Bufton, who is a member of the Shipley, Yorkshire, branch of the Peace Pledge Union, was recently due to register under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act. He did not do so, and, in the hope that they may be of some help to others, he has set out here the considerations that guided him.

1. I am wholly opposed to conscription. This is for two reasons :

(a) I utterly reject all war—on political, moral and religious grounds, and I cannot therefore accept that which makes participation in war compulsory for the citizens of a State ;

(b) it is an illegitimate exercise of State power. All who believe, as I do, in the worth of human personality must agree that these two major issues—the taking of human life, and the giving up of one's own life—perhaps the two greatest issues that can confront any man—must be decided by the individual himself.

Being thus entirely opposed to conscription, I cannot do anything that admits the right of the State to conscript. Registration admits that right, and I therefore could not register. Registration is not for a national roll of pacifists; it is taken under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, which is entirely for military purposes. The obtaining of personal exemption is, or should be, of no interest to us. If we are genuinely opposed to conscription, we must be opposed to it not merely in its application to ourselves but in its application to everybody. But by registering, even as COs, we are helping to make conscription "work."

This is the main argument against registration and the one on which I have taken my stand. The other arguments are mainly answers to possible counter-arguments, and as such serve to strengthen the case against registration.

2. It may be said that the State has the right to test rebel opinions, otherwise it cannot maintain its stability. This argument might be of some value if it were possible for the State to test conscience, but that is something which it is impossible for any man or body of men to do. Least of all can a tribunal exercise this function, however fair it may try to be. I

hold that the only accurate test of a man's conscience is the stand which he is prepared to make for it.

3. The popular argument that appearance before a tribunal gives opportunity for valuable testimony for one's faith, is a fallacy.

The value of testimony can only be judged by the results it produces. In the tribunals, such testimony as it is possible to give (very limited with most tribunals) is heard only by the "bench" (whom it would be frivolous to hope to convert), and by a mere handful of the public, who, in any case are usually themselves pacifists. The vast general public's only contact with the tribunals is through the press, and since only the exceptional has news value, the press concentrates on the cases of those CO's who

(a) can scarcely be called CO's at all (e.g., hardship cases);

or (b) express views which seem queer even to their fellow CO's;

or (c) being nervous and subjected to scarcely relevant questions, say things they do not really mean.

The net result, therefore, of "giving testimony" is to cause infinitely more harm than good.

4. Many register and go before the tribunals because they feel that a little compromise is worth while in order that they may remain free to render material service of one kind or another to humanity. But to me it seems clear that the greatest service we can render to humanity is to stand firm for freedom of conscience for all.

It cannot be contended that the conscience clause in the Conscription Act gives this freedom of conscience for all, because it is a regrettable fact that a large number of those affected by the Act have no clear thought at all on the matter, and whatever doubts they may inwardly feel, they could no more prove a conscientious objection to war than they could prove a conscientious desire for war. We have to fight this fight not only for ourselves, but also for this vast core of the human race, whose rights have always had to be fought for by other, more thoughtful, minorities.

Governments will not be deterred by fear of shortage of human material from war and the paths that lead to war, so long as conscription is available at need, whatever conscience clauses there may be. Only by an uncompromising stand now against conscription can we ensure that this evil shall be banished from the world.

5. The above point answers also the argument that, because this country recognizes the CO, it is unreasonable and ungrateful not to accept that recognition.

We must realize that conscription is a great evil and a retrograde step in the history of this country.

6. This final point is based on the practical working of the tribunals. Whatever the purpose of their constitution, and whatever their intentions, their working seems to me definitely to be—

(a) To keep the COs reasonably quiet by giving them this side-alley down which to creep;

(b) At the same time to get the maximum of national service from the COs; and

(c) Generally by these methods to weaken seriously the pacifist movement.

ALL these considerations will compel me also to refuse to appear before the tribunal as I do not recognize its jurisdiction, and to refuse all other matters arising out of conscription. When a normally law-abiding citizen of a State feels so strongly that a law is wrong that he must break that law, the honest course is to notify the State of one's protest and future intentions, and one is then free to carry out those intentions without one's stand being weakened or obscured by underground methods. I have, therefore, sent such a notice to the Prime Minister.

In conclusion, I would ask what must be the aims of the pacifist in the present circumstances? It seems to me that our hopes now of stopping the war are frail or even non-existent. Certainly we must carry on vigorously and unceasingly with our work to that end, but with no false hopes. And should not our other aim be so to conduct ourselves now that when the war is over we

may attract large numbers to our standard, large enough numbers to ensure that there shall be no more war?

Shall we attract those numbers by compromising now; by accepting the whole machinery of the conscription Act, and accepting, if we can get it, exemption for ourselves individually, and perhaps a relatively safe job for the duration? On the contrary, I would suggest that we shall only attain that end by refusing, so far as lies in us, to compromise, and by enduring patiently whatever suffering that course may bring. Persecution is not to be sought for its own sake or for any possible propaganda value; but equally it is not to be avoided by compromise, however slight.

All history teaches us that where imprisonment, suffering and death are not sought for, but, for rigid adherence to principle, are unflinchingly endured, then no greater good could be done, for the cause, and the good a man does is not interred with him, but lives on and multiplies superabundantly.

ANOTHER Yorkshire member of the PPU, a woman using the nom-de-plume "Unity," writes:—

Is a conscientious objector of more use to the pacifist movement in prison or out? I submit that he is more use out, but unless the CO objects on religious grounds there is little chance of remaining so if he does register and consequently appear before the tribunals.

Mass refusal by COs to appear before tribunals until they adopt a different attitude would have a pronounced effect.

From pacifist journals it is reasonable to believe that most pacifists believe in co-operation, so it is up to the pacifist movement to rally COs to organized passive resistance against appearing before the tribunal so long as only one CO in twenty receives complete exemption.

"War Has Killed The England I Loved"

—Dean Inge

REFERRING to the Archbishop of York's new book, *Thoughts in War-time* (Macmillan), Dean Inge wrote in the *Evening Standard* on March 28:

"His Grace, after saying that war is a very dreadful thing, and very unchristian, tells us this particular war is righteous because no nation is safe while Hitler remains in power, and Hitler has broken his promises so often that nobody can believe a word he says. He thinks that 'everybody' in this country will agree with him that this war is 'an evident duty.' There is no-one who believes that it can ever be right to engage in war, and yet holds that we should have held back now."

"This is a rather astonishing statement, but heaven forbid that I should try to answer it now. The time has not come to appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober. Poor Philip will awake with what the Germans call a *schrecklich Katzenjammer*. The war has killed the England that I have known and loved. I pray that Providence will release me before I see the ruin which must come upon us, through inflation and bankruptcy, whether we win the war or lose it."

1916-1940

IN 1916 Arthur Ponsonby wrote a conversation-piece, *The Crank*.

The characters were a merchant with very orthodox views, his nephew-secretary, who has pacifist convictions, and a professor. The merchant, annoyed at the aberrations of the young man calls in the professor for help and advice. The resulting dialogue permits the young man to put the pacifist case against "both comers."

The book has now been reissued by Allen and Unwin, price one shilling. There is a stock available at PPU Headquarters. It is sufficient tribute to the author's prescience that, with a few minor alterations in names and phrases, the writing might well have been completed yesterday, with reference to the Second Great War rather than the first.

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Edited by Max Plowman

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on

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

"The State is All"

WE pacifists who are also Socialists always told our Labour Comrades that war would compel this country to tend more and more towards the very Fascist technique that the Labour and Liberal Parties believe they are combatting in supporting the war.

But the State has been more ingenious than we ever imagined it could be. British totalitarianism has found a way of assimilating pacifists! The "democratic" State of Britain is far more clever than the totalitarian State of Germany, even at its own game. The Continental pacifist has been shot, or is in a concentration camp, or a Fortress prison. The British pacifist, with an official exemption in his pocket, acquiesces "The State is all." Our German comrades are prisoners, or exiles, or refugees. We British pacifists are good citizens.

So far has the State encroached on our personal liberties, that it presumes to underwrite them, making them valid. This is an extraordinary extension of Totalitarianism. The Allies are fighting this very evil. Yet the deadening thing creeps on insidiously, and the ultimate implacable misfit—the Conscientious Objector—finds himself not too unpleasantly enmeshed in the Authoritarian State.

There is the feeling that somehow we have been diddled, and that this beloved country of ours may, in the future, know less of freedom in consequence.

FRANK R. HANCOCK.

Stopping the War and Making Peace

There can be no real peace within the capitalist system.

The pacifist position should be to arrange with socialist organizations to hold a conference at once to represent all countries, including the colonial peoples. Separate peace aims should be put out. The struggle against capitalism should be intensified, and a non-violent revolution would be the ultimate goal. Such schemes as "Federal Union" should be revealed in their true light, as the attempt of a decaying capitalism to extend its life.

ALBERT MCCARTHY.

14 Colebrook Avenue,
Shirley, Southampton.

In India M. K. Gandhi in his campaign for truth and social justice has the support of millions of the common illiterate people of India. In Britain the PPU in its campaign of Satyagraha has not the support of the masses.

I think that the present methods of propaganda which aim simply at a negotiated peace and an end of war, will not succeed in getting that support, simply because those aims alone, unsupported by any other campaign of social justice, do not offer enough to the ordinary man in the street. Cannot we tell them that we do not stop at renouncing war—that that is only where we start?

Cannot we tell them in *Peace News* or by pamphlets of the social struggle which is going on, and how we think they can only get peace and happiness by one method—non-violence?

STANLEY MOORE.

67 Canonbie Road, Honor Oak, S.E.23.

I was very interested to read that the letter from Mr. O. L. Matthews in the readers' symposium last week. Surely, though, there is already a movement which is concentrating on constructive Peace Aims and which does embrace those who do not personally disagree with fighting as well as those who are pacifists. This, I would suggest, is what Federal Union is.

C. J. MARMOY.

1 Ray Drive, Maidenhead, Berks.

I am very disappointed that *Peace News*—and, therefore, I presume, the Pacifist Movement in general—have taken no notice of a discussion put in hand recently in various papers on "The Rights of Man."

May I say, in a small humble voice, that I think that the whole of the Pacifist Movement is far too concerned with the Anti-War attitude. We are, I think, too busy saying "Not that way." We should be saying "This way"—and, of course, stating reasons why and possible means of progress.

We go, at present, somewhat toward this goal, I realize. But not nearly enough.

G. W. WALTON.

13 Stoneway, Ewell.

We must no longer impress on all and sundry that our country must command our allegiance above all other considerations; a spirit of Christianity must be inculcated into all minds. The realization of the Christian fundamental that all men are Brothers would go a long way towards removing the causes of war.

Surely men have learnt by past experiences that the very act of war begets further war? Surely, in face of the failure of force throughout the ages, we can at least give the application of Christian principles a fair and sincere trial? Hitler, and the system he represents must be overcome, whatever the cost, but suppression by force can never accomplish this.

L. A. TAYLOR.

13 Rectory Gardens, Northolt, Middlesex.

Federal Union

I hope it will be permitted an American, living under the first and one of the most successful federal systems, to put her two cents into the debate as to whether pacifists can support federal union.

I believe that pacifists not only can, not only should, but must support federal union, but not Mr. Joad's version of it. The only kind of federal union the pacifist can support is the one which shall invite

all nations to participate in the Constitutional Convention which shall write the World Constitution. This World Constitution must be presented to all the peoples of the world for ratification, and the World Government machinery set up as soon as the agreed number of nations have ratified, other nations to come in as soon as their peoples have expressed themselves on the World Constitution.

Several American gentlemen to whom no suspicion of pacifism could possibly attach—James Madison, Alexander Hamilton and others—discussing in the American Constitutional Convention in 1787 the setting up of a system of collective military sanctions, rejected it unequivocally as unworkable and undesirable. James Madison said:

"A voluntary observance of the federal law by all the members could never be hoped for. A compulsive one could evidently never be reduced to practice, and if it could, involved equal calamities to the innocent and the guilty, the necessity of a military force both obnoxious and dangerous, and in general a scene resembling much more a civil war than the administration of a regular government."

"Hence was embraced the alternative of a government, which instead of operating on the States, should operate without their intervention on the individuals composing them."

This is the real key as to why pacifists can and must support all-inclusive federal union.

The English pacifist movement would lose none of its spiritual and humanitarian qualities, but would rather implement these by active work for the right kind of federal union.

We in the United States have been working since 1937, as the Campaign for World Government, to bring about the application of the federal system to international affairs. We are supporting two Bills in our Congress; one in the Senate, urging immediate, unconditional armistice called by all the neutrals; the other in the House, urging the President to prepare and call a World Constitutional Convention.

We believe that the two offer a happy combination in the present tragedy.

EDITH WYNNER.

Secretary, New York Group,
Campaign for World Government,
30 West 70th Street, New York City.

W. B. Curry spent much space in making counter arguments against several alleged statements of Laurence Housman. Yet, on reading the

latter's article again, it is obvious that Mr. Curry has completely misunderstood it. Laurence Housman—

(1) did not, it seems, set out to put forward an alternative to Federal Union; (2) did not argue against FU; (3) did not suggest that FU is necessarily "a method of imposing law and order upon its members, &c."; (4) obviously implied "the need for some form of government having authority over larger areas than those of existing sovereign States"; (5) (the main point) insisted that the use of military and economic sanctions would lead to the failure of FU, that there is the weakness, and gave the alternative—not to Federal Union itself, but to one aspect of it—total disarmament and therefore a real Peace policy.

EDGAR S. MCCOY.

172 Hawthorne Road, Bootle, Liverpool, 20.

Is War Natural

It might be a help to your correspondent, David R. Roberts (March 29), to consider the case of William Penn, son of Admiral Penn, in the Stuart times, and the North American Indians, commonly known as the "bloodthirsty Indians" by the other colonists.

William Penn, having come into possession of a large tract of land, hence called Pennsylvania, in payment of his father's salary (owing by King Charles II), issued, in 1681, a proclamation to the Indians, from whom he proposed to buy the land (as the rightful owners), in which he said: "I desire to enjoy the Province with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbours and friends; else what would the great God do to us, who hath made us not to devour and destroy one another but to live soberly and kindly together in the world?" Bancroft, who wrote the History of the United States, says:

"There has been nothing in the history of the human race like the confidence which William Penn's simple virtues and institutions inspired"; and even to the present day the love remains between the Red Indians and the followers of Brother Onas. (See *Peace Pacts Honoured*, Friends Book Centre, Euston Road. Post free 4d.)

EDWARD LITTLE.

The Elms, Long Wharton, Loughborough.

Bayonet Practice

With reference to Rev. David R. Mace's letter in last week's *Peace News*, the following extract from an Infantry Training Manual (issued a few years ago in the piping days of peace) may be of interest:

Bayonet fighting is possible only because red-blooded men naturally possess the fighting instinct. This inherent desire to fight and kill must be carefully watched for and encouraged by the instructor.

To finish an opponent who hangs on or attempts to pull you to the ground, always try to break his hold by driving your knee or foot to his crutch and gouging his eyes with your thumbs.

Men still have fight in them unless you hit a vital spot, but when the bayonet comes out and

the air sucks in and they begin to bleed on the inside, they feel the pain and lose their fight.

Can one do this kind of thing and claim to be a Christian (a follower of Jesus Christ). As an ex-service man I am unable to reconcile the two.

CHARLES STUART.

8 Highercroft Road, Crouch Hill, N.19.

International Schools

To my article in *Peace News* of September 22, 1939, suggesting the formation of an international school there were about 100 enthusiastic replies. One of these was from the Headmistress of a refugee school in South Wales who has been seeking to enlarge her community and make it more international.

I visited the senior house, 'The White House,' Cwmavon, and was deeply impressed by the pioneer work there. We consulted together and decided to hold a conference of interested people and to search for suitable buildings and grounds. The conference has been held in the International Hostel, Sydenham Hill, attended by over 40 people of several nationalities.

Minna Specht, head of the refugee school, concluded the conference by leading a discussion on the next steps to be taken in the development of the school, the securing of a building and grounds, perhaps connected with an adults' farming community, the type of teacher most needed, the formation of an advisory committee of world-famous people from several countries, and of an association of friends to help a little in finance, and in many other ways. A gift of £100 had already been given towards a gymnasium and a few English children have recently come to the school. More English teachers and taught will be needed as well as those of other nationalities.

EILEEN PARKER.

Southernhay,

Belvoir Road, Bideford.

(Miss Hanna M. C. Marcus, of 4 Crossborough Hill, Basingstoke, writes on behalf of another international school, Little St. Francis, of which she had several inquiries as a result of a previous announcement in *Peace News*, and which is already occupied by five borders and several day pupils.—Ed.)

We have space for only a few of the letters we receive.

Other things being equal, letters of about 200 words stand the best chance of publication.

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Tuesday morning

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Wanted

GERMAN PACIFIST REFUGEE, 25, linguist, teacher, urgently requires home, au pair, London, pending arrangements for emigration.—Box 387, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

BOOKS

THE DIVINE CLOCK. 130-page book on Bible prophecies concerning coming events. 2s. 6d.—Secretary, Prophetic League, 21, Poplar Grove, New Malden, Surrey.

TRUTH ABOUT THIS WAR. The book for which Action and the New Leader refused advertisements. Truth says "so dangerous that the authorities should lose no time in suppressing it." Two shillings and sixpence from British People's Party, 13 John Street, London, W.C.1.

EDUCATIONAL

"BREVIA" SELF-TAUGHT SPEEDWRITING Fastest, simplest Shorthand. Complete system. 3s. 6d.—Brevia (H), 31 Townshend Court, London, N.W.8.

FRENCH, German, Spanish, Italian taught by correspondence.—Macrini School of Languages, Osborne Road, Southsea.

MEETINGS, &c.

"PEACE THROUGH FRIENDSHIP" Sydenham Opening Meeting, Thursday, April 11, 7.30 p.m., All Saints' Hall, Trewsbury Road. Noël Ede, William Dowling.

MISCELLANEOUS

NEW OR SECONDHAND CARS or caravans for sale or hire.—S. C. Allonby, Times Garage, Levenshulme, Manchester.

PRINTING

PACIFIST PRINTER: Handbills, leaflets, programmes and general printing.—W. J. Brigden, 232, Sellincourt Road, London, S.W.17.

PRINTING of any description. Cheapest house in country for leaflets, &c. Speedy delivery.—Gait and Son, Shipley, Yorks. Entirely PPU.

PUBLICATIONS

PEACE COMMENTARY. A weekly commentary on current events. 2s. 6d. for six months. Specimen from Dick Sheppard Centre, 1a Eddystone Road, London, S.E.4.

"PLEASE MAY I have twelve more. . . I think it excellent." An extract from one of many letters from subscribers to *Headline News-Letters*. Fifty-two letters, 10s. 0d. Twenty-six 5s. 6d. Specimen Copy, 2d.—Sec., *Headline News-Letters*, 13 John Street, W.C.1.

RELIGIOUS

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

SITUATIONS

Vacant

CASHIER BOOK-KEEPER and/or shorthand typist required by solicitors now in country near Reading, but West London permanency if suitable.—Write, age, experience and salary, to Box 379, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

GOOD HOME (small wage) offered woman, under 50, to keep house for widower and adult daughter (Wembley).—Box 389, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

MECHANIC OR GARAGE ASSISTANT. Write details, experience, age, wages.—S. C. Allonby, Times Garage, Levenshulme, Manchester.

YOUNG CO. WANTED with organizing ability to train as salesman, also collect accounts Manchester and district. Driving experience an asset.—Box 385, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

VACANCIES FOR CO'S ON LAND AND SOCIAL SERVICE SCHEMES. Four men wanted at once for agricultural work, one as cook. Two men for canteen and clubs in Paddington. Must have own or group support, 13s. per week (country), 15s. (town). Write Warden, Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway, London, W.2.

Situations—Wanted

CO, AGE 21, exempt, requires situation. Clerical, sales and mechanical experience. Well educated. Any occupation considered. Any district.—G. Townell, 47 The Meadow, Birstall, Leicester.

EXEMPTED CO wants job; experienced salesman, excellent refs.; interested in social service; organizing ability.—Box 393, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

INTELLIGENT and **RESPONSIBLE** part-time work in London wanted by pacifist, student writer, several years' sound office experience. Box 380, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

PACIFIST (24), experienced accounts, cashiering, &c., quick and adaptable, desires position London.—Box 390, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

PACIFIST, 31, energetic, seeks release munition work. Anything—London or southern counties preferred. (Plasterer. Knowledge and Certs. building trades).—Box 391, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

UNEMPLOYED CO (23), awaiting tribunal, seeks farm work. Experienced. Go anywhere, Kent preferred.—Box 388, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

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FIRST-CLASS TYPEWRITING and duplicating.—Mabel Eyles, 51 Ruskin Walk, Herne Hill, London, S.E.24. Brixton 2863.

WHERE TO STAY

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform. Vegetarian Guest House. Alt. 600 ft. For happy holidays or restful recuperation. Central heating, H. and C. water in bedrooms.—A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars Crich, Matlock. Station: Ambergate (L.M.S.). Tel: Ambergate 44.

IN THE "VALLEY OF PEACE" Guest House that provides an escape from war atmosphere. Vegetarian Food Reform table. Log fires. Beautiful setting near Beech Woods. Tariff from proprietors: "Fortune's Well," Sheepscombe, Stroud, Glos.

LONDON: FOWLER, "Newlyn House," 9 Argyle Street, W.C.1. B. and B. 5s.; double, 8s. 6d. Opposite St. Pancras Station. Ter. 3572.

WINDSOR FOREST locality rest home for ladies and gentlemen—devoid of war atmosphere. Private rooms or suites—beautiful grounds. Resident doctor.—Box 386, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

YOUTH HOUSE. Residential and Social centre for progressive youth. Vegetarian restaurant, lectures, dances, language classes, rambles, &c. Internationalism and fellowship in active communal life. Single bed-sitting-rooms, 15s. per week.—Apply Secretary, 250 Camden Road, N.W.1. Gulliver 5189.

Dates for Your Diary

Items for inclusion in this column should contain: Date, Town, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers; organizers (and secretary's address).

As it is a free service we reserve the right to select items for inclusion. Notices received after MONDAY will in any case stand very little chance of publication.

Today (Friday)

GLASGOW; 7.30 p.m. Anniesland Co-op. Hall, Linden Place; William McLane; No Conscription League.

LONDON, S.W.12; 8 p.m. Labour Party Centre, 12 Balham Park Road; Eric Tucker; meeting for COs and sympathizers; Balham and Tooting COs' Advisory Bureau.

LONDON, W.C.1; 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Dr. A. D. Belden on "Conditions for a Peace Settlement"; PPU.

LOTHBURY; 1.10 p.m. The Vestry, St. Margaret's (at back of Bank of England); Rev. R. Sorensen on "Community"; City PPU group.

Tomorrow (Saturday)

BRIGHTON; 3 p.m. Union Church, Queen Square; Laurence Housman on "The Way to Peace"; chairman: Rev. D. W. Langridge; Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, Society of Friends, PPU, Women's Co-operative Guild and Women's International League.

HORNSEY; 5 p.m. Middle Lane, Methodist Church Hall; Maurice Cranston on "What is the Function of the PPU To-day?"; PPU.

PRESTON; 3 p.m. Percy Street School; one-day school; A. Stephen Noel and A. Gilbert (chairman); PPU.

STRATFORD; 4 p.m. Opposite Maryland Point Station; open-air meeting and mass Peace News selling.

Sunday, April 7

HAMMERSMITH; 3 p.m. King's Theatre; "Cease Fire!"; John McNair, Dick Stokes, Rosalind Bevan, Sir Hugh Robertson, and J. Allen Skinner (chairman); PPU.

PLYMOUTH; 3 p.m. Swarthmore Hall; P. M. Patel on "Power of Non-Violence"; PPU.

Monday, April 8

BAYSWATER; 8 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway; debate on Federal Union; PPU.

ENFIELD; 7.45 p.m. 3 Silver Street; Trevor Williams on the "Political CO"; Fellowship of Conscientious Objectors.

TORQUAY; 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; P. M. Patel on "Power of Non-Violence"; PPU.

WOLVERHAMPTON; 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Horsman Street, Chapel Ash; Mock Tribunal; No Conscription League and PPU.

Tuesday, April 9

LEATHERHEAD; 8 p.m. Working Men's Club Hall, Fairfield Road; R. R. Stokes, MP, on "The Case for Negotiated Peace Now"; Leatherhead Peace Committee.

LONDON, W.1; 7.30 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street; PPU members' meeting; R. H. Ward on "The Necessity for Art"; refreshments at the Club.

NEWTON ABBOT; 7.30 p.m. Beven's Restaurant; P. M. Patel on "Power of Non-Violence"; PPU.

POPLAR; 7.30 p.m. Public Hall, Newby Place; Alex. Sloan, Reg. Groves and Don Fraser; Stop-the-War meeting; No Conscription League.

TOWER HILL; 12.45 p.m. Open-air meeting; Rev. Patrick Figgis; City PPU group.

Wednesday, April 10

BALHAM; 8 p.m. Small Trevanna Hall, Boundaries Road; Preston Benson on "News-papers in War-time"; PPU.

BAYSWATER; 8 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway; World Affairs—2. Rumania; D. D. Dimanescu; PPU.

BOURNEMOUTH; 7.45 p.m. Punshon Memorial Methodist Church, Richmond Hill; Dr. Maude Royden and Rev. Fred J. Pope; FoR.

BRISTOL; 7 p.m. Harrowdene Road Methodist Church, Knowle; C. W. Hope Gill on "The PPU and Politics Today"; chairman: Rev. F. M. Cooper; Christian Pacifist Group and PPU.

BROMLEY, Kent; 8 p.m. Robert Whyte Memorial Hall, London Road; Dr. A. D. Belden, Sybil Morrison and Vincent Long (chairman) on "Peace and Security Now"; PPU and FoR.

LUTON; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Castle Street; Dr. A. Herbert Gray; Pacifist Groups.

Thursday, April 11

LONDON, S.W.17; 7.45 p.m. Tooting Co-operative Hall, 180 to 198 Upper Tooting High Road; Cecil H. Wilson, Mrs. Duncan Harris, Rev. Kenneth Budd and Dr. Maude Royden (chairman) on "The Case for Negotiated Peace"; Women's Peace Campaign, PPU, FoR, and Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.

RICHMOND, Surrey; 8 p.m. 57 Larkfield Road (near Railway Station); Test Tribunal; Fellowship of COs (Richmond PPU).

Friday, April 12

GLASGOW; 7.30 p.m. Anniesland Co-op. Hall, Linden Place; Helib T. Low; No Conscription League.

LOTHBURY; 1.10 p.m. The Vestry, St. Margaret's (at back of Bank of England); Gerald Bailey, secretary of National Peace Council; City PPU group.

STRATFORD; 8 p.m. Conference Hall, West Ham Lane; D. V. Tahmanker on "Non-Violent Resistance"; PPU.

WATFORD; 8 p.m. Oddfellows Hall; Reginald Sorensen and Fenner Brockway on "The Case for a Negotiated Peace"; H. E. Seed (chairman); few reserved seats at 1s. from the Secretary, 252 Watford Road, Croxley Green.

Tuesday, April 16

LONDON, W.1; 7.45 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street; R. H. S. Crossman, of the New Statesman; "Freedom in an Age of Violence." All PPU members cordially invited. Food available from 6.30.

Saturday and Sunday, April 20 and 21

CRICHT; "The Briers"; Midlands weekend School; "The Christian Pacifist in Action Now"; leader: Dr. Leighton Yates; FoR. Inquiries and bookings by April 13 to Margretta Oliver, 15 Bar Lane, Nottingham.

"AND LET US BE MERRY, MY FRIENDS"

By John Barclay

THE strain of wartime shows first on those who have to make two ends meet. With rising prices and rising rents comes the demand for more wages and more food. The mothers of large families already near the subsistence level are finding it increasingly difficult to satisfy the demands made on them by their children and the relief offered is a promise of still further rises and less food.

Tears bring no relief, neither does the talk of bombing an enemy already suffering the pangs of hunger brought about by our own blockade. The cries of old men demanding sacrifices of young ones meets with no approval this time and there is no joy in the talk of a prolonged war.

It is this absence of joy and high spirits which is chiefly noticeable as I travel round the country, and I am sure that the pacifist has the supreme task of re-establishing happy and healthy laughter. However bad the circumstances, we can laugh, if only at ourselves.

Looking down the tube this morning I saw only one face which looked happy, and that belonged to a boy of 12 who fairly bubbled over with mischief. Everyone who saw him had to smile, and as they smiled they ceased to pay so much attention to the horrors they had been reading in the daily paper.

How much can we do to rouse the real morale of the country—the decent, ordinary, human feeling which lies beneath this grim mask of fear and futility? I am convinced that if we could get people laughing, first at themselves and then at the old men who pretend to lead us, and then at the bogies of Hitler and all that he stands for, they would regain their common humanity which would make the bombing

of ships and the blockade of people impossible.

We can only do it by taking ourselves less seriously. We are far too solemn—not only as Britishers but as pacifists. I look at my face in the shaving mirror and wonder how on earth it got its shape. It is not meant to be taken seriously; it is so obviously that of a person who needs to be laughed at (and between ourselves, often is); but my impression is the common experience of us all, and my plea is for the acceptance of this fact and the frank declaration of it to the world.

Get people laughing and you get their hearts—get their hearts and you get their love—love and hate are incompatible and the solution of war is in sight.

The Group Secretary's Weekly Notes

In three weeks' time we have our Annual General Meeting, and anyone who tries to convince me that the Group Organizer is too frivolous will find his task an impossible one. We shall beat our heads against a brick wall if we take either our own or anyone else's government seriously. Governments are composed of men whose faces are much like my own—only human when laughing. Imagine anyone declaring war on anyone else when telling them the winning entry in "This England"!

Peace will come when we learn to laugh, and the job of the pacifist is to make Peace humanly possible. When people want peace they will work for it and they will only want it when it offers something better than misery and poverty. I am all for building up the best world we can conceive, but it must be built joyously.

IMPORTANT

All those wishing to come to the AGM as individual members must be in possession of a white ticket. Please let me have your name or the names of those in your group who want these tickets as soon as possible.

What the Groups Are Doing

THE recent visit of John Barclay to the North Wales Coast Region was very successful.

On March 27, a meeting at Rhyl was attended by over 100 people and gave every satisfaction to the Rhyl group lately reformed under the leadership of Mr. J. H. Griffiths.

On March 29, Mr. Barclay addressed a well-attended meeting of the joint English and Welsh groups at Colwyn Bay and on the following day at Llandudno Junction the annual general meeting of the Region was held. The following officials were elected: chairman, Rev. Walter Jones; secretaries, English—Rowland A. Bird, Welsh—Arthur Davies; treasurer, Mrs. Jones Roberts.

This meeting was followed by a public meeting in the evening.

The Welsh speaker supporting Mr. Barclay at Rhyl was the Rev. Walter Jones, and at Llandudno Junction the Rev. Gwilym Jones.

Sutton's New Peace Centre

ABOUT fifty people attended the opening of the Sutton's new Peace Centre last week at 77, St. James Road.

The activities included a rendering of Haydn's Toy Symphony by the group's "Toy Symphony Orchestra." If any other group would appreciate a visit from the Orchestra, they would enjoy performing.

Taunton Peace Group

A DISCUSSION between the Taunton Peace Group and the Taunton Left Book Club on the subject, "Why This War?" confirmed the conclusion that all progressive movements agree to the economic and social necessity for the cessation of this war, but disagree on the method of its attainment.

Following the formal opening of the debate by a speaker from each side, questions dealt mainly on the relative efficiency of violent and non-violent resistance, and peace propaganda given from inside or outside the army.

Preston Group Meeting

LAST week the Preston group was addressed by the Rev. W. Dumbel, who spoke on the position in the Balkans, dealing in some detail with conditions in Hungary and Rumania.

Arrangements were made for the selling of Peace News in the town's main thoroughfare.

New Bedminster Group

THE formation of a new group in the Bedminster (Bristol) area has met with great success; approximately twenty members have attended the first two meetings. The Society of Friends has granted the use of a meeting room in the Friends' Meeting House, Princess Street.

Any person in the Bedminster area who is interested in the Peace organization is welcome at the meetings every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m., the secretary is Edgar Wall, 33, Stackpool Road, Bristol, 3.

Hendon Public Meetings

A SERIES of four public meetings, held fortnightly, has been arranged by the Hendon and Kingsbury groups. They are under the

general title "The War and the Peace," and are held in the Co-operative Hall, Hendon.

At the first meeting, on Tuesday, March 19, Mr. Reginald Bridgeman, prospective Labour candidate for Hendon, spoke on "Should the War be Ended Now?" He took the view that in the interests of the working people of all countries the war should be ended at once.

Blackheath Peace Shop

A BLACKHEATH Peace Shop, organized by the Society of Friends, Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, FoR and PPU has now been running for eighteen months and is supported by sales and weekly subscriptions from local pacifists and sympathizers.

The latest venture is to get a Mail Order Department going. Orders for all kinds of books should be sent to the Mail Order department, Manager's House, Harvey Gardens, London, S.E.7. Buyers will find it cheaper to send cash with the order than have goods sent COD, and postage will be paid on all orders over 10s. in value.

Conference in Belfast

NORTHERN Ireland groups gave Maurice Rowntree and Roy Walker an enthusiastic welcome when they visited Belfast last weekend.

A public meeting was held on Friday evening in York Street non-Subscribing Presbyterian Church Hall, with Professor Tom Finnegan, Northern Ireland representative on the National

Council, in the chair. He emphasized that the kind of peace we want is not a return to pre-war conditions, but something much more revolutionary. Roy Walker spoke of the results the war is actually having, such as the starvation of Poland, which are in direct opposition to our aims, and Maurice Rowntree stressed the need for faith in the vast resources of fellowship within human beings.

Maurice Rowntree opened the new Dick Sheppard Centre at 31a Wellington Place on Saturday morning, and in the afternoon a Conference began at the Gregg School. Maurice Rowntree spoke on the contribution of faith, and Roy Walker on the contribution of knowledge, and two papers were read summarizing the findings of study groups on federal union and social conditions. At an open meeting in the evening the practical application of pacifist principles was discussed.

Three simultaneous meetings were held on Sunday afternoon, Maurice Rowntree speaking to Friends, Roy Walker and Tom Finnegan to Dr. Agnew's Church Fellowship at York Street, and Rev. Frank Thompson and William McCafferty to a group of conference delegates. The Conference concluded with a service of intercession and rededication conducted by Professor Ernest Davey.

Maurice Rowntree spoke to a group of pacifist ministers on Monday, and he and Roy Walker then went on to Derry.

A.G.M.: Urgent Notice

THE annual general meeting of the PPU is only three weeks ahead. Delegates' forms and applications for tickets should already have been received by John Barclay at 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

Groups which have delayed in sending them should wait no longer! SEND THEM AT ONCE!

John Barclay still urgently needs offers of hospitality in the London area, to enable arrangements to be made for accommodating visitors from the Provinces.

FOR BIRMINGHAM READERS

A Peace News conference will be held on Saturday, April 13, in Severn Street Schools commencing at 3 p.m. Birmingham readers are invited to meet Humphrey Moore (Editor), Andrew Stewart (Assistant Editor) and Tom Brown (Distribution Department), who are to be present.

The chair will be taken by Herbert Whitley. Tea will be served at 5.30 p.m. at Dick Sheppard House.

"The Bond of Peace"

ALL four pamphlets in the series, "The Bond of Peace," issued by the Peace Pledge Union, are now available. They are:

1. *The Human Person and Society*, by Eric Gill.
2. *The Starting Point of Pacifism*, by Canon C. E. Raven.
3. *Money Has Destroyed Your Peace*, by Wilfred Wellock.
4. *The Brotherhood of Peace*, by J. Middleton Murry.

The price of each pamphlet is threepence. Copies are available from PPU Headquarters, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

p.p.u bookshop

"BOND OF PEACE" PAMPHLETS

THE HUMAN PERSON AND SOCIETY, by Eric Gill;
THE STARTING POINT OF PACIFISM, by Charles E. Raven;
MONEY HAS DESTROYED YOUR PEACE, by Wilfred Wellock;
THE BROTHERHOOD OF PEACE, by J. Middleton Murry.
3d. each, postage 1d.

C.O.s IN THE LAST WAR

TROUBLESOME PEOPLE. A complete reprint by the C.B.C.O. of the No-Conscription Fellowship Souvenir, describing the experiences of conscientious objectors in the years 1914-18, and the work of the Fellowship.
6d., postage 1d.

Obtainable from P.P.U. Literature Department, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

The Conquering Idea

"An idea winds its progress from nation to nation and conquers by a silent operation. Man finds himself changed, he scarcely perceives how. An army of principles will penetrate where an army of soldiers cannot; it will succeed where diplomatic management will fail; it is neither the Rhine, the Channel, nor the ocean that can arrest its progress; it will march on the horizon of the world, and it will conquer."

—TOM PAINE.

Where to Sell "P.N."

Copies of "Peace News" ordered last week: 35,024 (600 remained on Tuesday). Last week's donations to "Peace News" Fund: £15 3s. 5d.

Total of "Peace News" Fund to date: £572 4s. 6d.

BESIDES the more obvious places to sell Peace News, there are others which can be just as productive.

Below are a few suggestions to serve as a guide to groups and individual sellers. Further ideas will soon occur to sellers if they survey their locality.

Chapels and churches provide a good opportunity. Good results have already been obtained by sellers who attend outside such places regularly.

Offices and workshops also provide opportunities for regular sales, though they will be smaller and harder to get.

Special local events should also be watched to ensure that Peace News is on sale whenever possible. Opportunities may not occur very frequently, but they should not be missed.

(The Peace News fund was launched to release for some other branch of the Peace Pledge Union's activity the subsidy paid to Peace News. Though the paper is now self-supporting, the debt for the subsidy paid over several months remains, and we would therefore welcome donations of any size to enable us to pay it off as soon as possible. Individual acknowledgments will be sent. Cheques should be made payable to Peace News, Ltd., and not to the Peace Pledge Union, and should be sent to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4).

PEACE NEWS

Editorial, Publishing and Advertisement Offices: 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. Telephone: Stamford Hill 6157.

Subscription Rates, home and abroad: Quarterly: 2s. 9d. Yearly: 10s. 6d.

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor Peace News itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. (Still less does the acceptance of advertisements imply endorsement of any views expressed or implicit therein or PPU connexion with the matter advertised.) Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used.

Please hand this to your Newsagent

To _____
(Newsagent's name)

Please deliver "PEACE NEWS" to me weekly.

Name _____

Address _____

as from issue dated _____

Note to Newsagent:—

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CUT OUT FOR RETURNS
No. 199 5.4.40

WAR AND REVOLUTION

"It is a curious and interesting fact that since private wars ceased, each 100 years has witnessed a great foreign war, or series of foreign wars, and a great revolution or series of revolutions."

"Thus, no sooner was the Hundred Years' War at an end than the revolution of the Renaissance began."

"No sooner had the seventeenth century run its course than the war of the Spanish Succession, 1702-1714, was declared, and a simmering war period followed until 1740, when the war of the Austrian Succession broke out, and eventually plunged Europe into the Seven Years' War, 1756-1763, the great war of the eighteenth century. This war was followed by the birth of the Industrial Revolution, the revolt of the American Colonies, 1775-1783, and the French Revolution, 1789."

"Out of these emerged another great war which fired by the genius of Napoleon, lasted until 1815. Directly this war was concluded another revolutionary period began, embracing the independence of South America, the release of Greece from Turkish rule, ferment in the Moslem world, the political revolution in England in 1832, the overthrow of the monarchy in France, prolonged agitation in Spain, the emergence of modern Italy, later of Japan, the general ferment of 1848, the Mutiny in India, and the American Civil War of 1861-1865."

"Meanwhile, another period was entered; the war in the Crimea, 1854-1856, the Austro-Prussian War, 1866, the Franco-Prussian War, 1870-1871, the Russo-Turkish War, 1877-1878, the Colonial Wars of the 'eighties, the Spanish American War, 1898, the war in South Africa, 1899-1902, the Russo-Japanese war, 1904-1905, the Balkan Wars, 1912-1913, and finally the World War, of 1914-1918. Out of this last war emerged the Russian Revolution, a large number of other revolutions in Europe and South America, the establishment of dictatorships, widespread revolt in Ireland, Egypt, India and China, and a general economic collapse."

John F. C. Fuller. *The Dragon's Teeth.*

One may well ask—What revolution will follow this war, and where?

Women's Peace Campaign

The Edinburgh Women's Peace Movement has arranged for a Social Whist Drive on Wednesday, April 17, in the Melbourne Hall, Melbourne Place, at 7.15 p.m. It is hoped that this function will help members to get together. Tickets will be 1s., including tea.

To the Editor

Please let me appeal to women readers to have courage enough to go into busy streets carrying small posters: "Negotiate now for a just peace," or "I appeal to men to stop the war," and on reverse side: "For the sake of the children everywhere." These should be held aloft on the end of a small pole.

These pole posters can be had by writing to Dick Sheppard Club, Binney Street, near Selfridges, W.1.

LOUISE HYNARD.

Eynsford, Kent

MIDDLETON MURRY

(continued from page 1)

who have some obvious claim to be disinterested—on the neutrals, on the USA, and above all upon the Vatican. So we must press on with our demand that neutral mediation shall be accepted. In this our pacifism and our patriotism coincide.

But, in honesty, we must not ignore the profound misgiving of the allied leaders. What chance is there, they ask themselves, that Germany will respect the terms of any peace? Let pacifists not place themselves in the false position of going bail for Herr Hitler. Peace is a risk, but it is a risk for life. War is a certainty: the certainty of death. I personally believe that if this war is called off quickly, the common man throughout Europe will see that it is not begun again. I cannot prove it. But without so much faith in humanity, the future is "irretrievably dark, total eclipse."



Also try Essona Eau de Cologne at same price.

Vera Brittain's "Weekly Letter"

In connexion with Vera Brittain's *Weekly Letter to Peace-Lovers*, Winifred Eden Green writes:

Subscriptions have reached 1,800 in the five months the Letter has been in circulation. Unfortunately, owing to wartime prices, we now need 2,200 subscribers in 6 months to cover expenses—3,000 in a year before any profit can be made for the PPU and other peace organizations.

As we do not wish to raise the subscription rate, it is more imperative than ever to increase the circulation so that the Letter may be within the means of as many as possible.

Miss Brittain will be back in England on April 14, and I hope by then the circulation will have reached the point where, at any rate, expenses are covered.

I would like to take the opportunity of thanking most sincerely the noble and reliable band of voluntary workers who assist me every Tuesday and Wednesday, without whose valuable co-operation it would certainly not be possible to despatch the Letters each week with such regularity.

For those who do not take the Letters—a free copy of the introductory issue, explaining their purpose, will be sent on application. The subscription is half a crown for a period of six months. Please address any inquiries to me c/o 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

The Letters for the first six months will shortly be available in book form—price 2s. 6d. Orders should be sent to the above address.

Talks on War Resistance Abroad

The following informative group talks have been arranged by the War Resisters' International group of speakers:—

April 5, Streatham, Kenneth V. Clark; April 6, Leicester, H. Runham Brown; April 8, Woodford Green, C. E. Harrington; April 8, Central Croydon, Kenneth V. Clark; April 8, Glasgow, Mrs. Sybil White; April 9, Gerrards Cross, Eric T. Roach; April 9, Southall, Eric L. Dixon; April 10, Rickmansworth, Eric T. Roach; April 10, N. 16 & E.5 PPU, C. E. Harrington; April 13, Manchester, H. Runham Brown; April 15, Sevenoaks, Sydney P. Larcombe; April 17, Stourbridge, Sydney G. Conbeer; April 17, Slough, Eric T. Roach; April 20, Bishopston, George H. Lockett; April 29, Paddington and North Kensington, J. G. Forsyth; May 9, Kentish Town, Stanley Cooper; May 10, South and Upper Norwood, Sydney P. Larcombe; May 23, Kettering, William Harrison; May 21, Gloucester, George H. Lockett.

On dates yet to be fixed: Stoke-on-Trent; Oldham; Highams Park; Scunthorpe; St. Albans; Hook; Tolworth and Claygate; Furzedown College; Tunstall; Bacup; Bricon and Stockwall; Norwich; Wellington, Somerset.

Any other groups wishing to hear about the work being done abroad for war resistance, should communicate with Mr. Sydney P. Larcombe or Miss Grace Beaton (Hon. Sec.), at 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

Not So Hard to Believe

A correspondent in East Anglia sends me the following—with the remark, "you may find it hard to believe, but this conversation actually took place." I believe it. Here it is:—

X: "The way you are going on, we shall see you calling a 'stop-the-war' meeting before long."

Y: "Quite probably."

X: "You are nothing but a Communist."

Y: "Well, what's wrong with Communists?"

X: "They want to settle everything by violence."

—From "A Worker's Notebook," *Daily Worker*.

CADBURY'S MILK CHOCOLATE

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ASK YOUR NEWSAGENT TO DELIVER "PEACE NEWS" EVERY WEEK

War Guides

(continued from page 3)

parts whose former publications have earned them a reputation for accuracy and impartiality. They survey the area of actual and potential conflict and the military and industrial strength of the powers involved and likely to be drawn in; they discuss up-to-date ideas of strategy on land, air and sea; and they provide a very useful chapter on the position of the United States, both from the point of view of neutrality and national defence.

Indicative of the partial obscurity which inevitably surrounds these high affairs for ordinary mortals, is the prefatory note:

The military statistics in this book must be accepted with reservations. In recent years, official secrecy has hampered all attempts to collect precise data on such subjects as the strength of air forces, standing armies and trained reserves. Where reliable official figures are lacking, the estimates of private investigators have been compared and an attempt made to strike a fair average. The economic information is in general more definite.

A feature of the book is a series of 32 maps and charts illustrating the subjects dealt with.

The two atlases are similar in style: the illustration occupies the left-hand page, the explanatory text is opposite. But there the comparison ends.

The Oxford publication is a 30-page pamphlet, excessively documented; the Harrabin book is the first volume in a series, covering, in over 100 pages, the period September, 1939, to January, 1940. Of its quality what more can one say than that the long-established fame of this artist for throwing into high relief the salient features of any political problem finds renewed justification in this, his latest, and most enterprising, effort. This volume adds lustre to a series, the Discussion Books, which has been recognized as exceptionally brilliant in conception and execution ever since its inception.

A. S.

The Impact of Science

Science Today and Tomorrow. Waldemar Kaempffert. Nicholson and Weston. 10s. 6d.

ANALYSTS of our contemporary chaos—such as H. G. Wells and Middleton Murry—attribute it to the time-lag between our social morality and our scientific progress. We have simply been knocked almost insane by the impact of the machine on our civilization.

Some of the aspects of this remarkable inventive advance are the subjects of this collection of essays by the Science Editor of the *New York Times*. But his book is more than an interesting narrative of revolutionary discoveries in the universe around us and on the planet we inhabit; he faces squarely the problem of discovering a new way of life adequate to the full enjoyment of these wonders. How can we preserve democracy in a technocratic world?

His conclusions include the rejection of totalitarianism, the assertion of the international brotherhood of science—indeed, of all men—and the necessity of the education of the whole of mankind to an understanding of the new world in which it is living: "as Wells puts it, the choice is between chaos and education."

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